**THE GUARDIAN MARKS NEGRO HISTORY WEEK WITH FIVE SPECIAL PAGES**

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly
15 cents
VOL. 12, NO. 18 — NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 15, 1960

INFORMER CALLED A NAZI

# Young witnesses defy Un-Americans, picket White House

STATE DEPT. OFFICIALS last year told Joanne Grant, executive secy. of the U.S. Youth Festival Committee, that it was government policy not to discourage people from attending the Vienna Youth Festival. Several Senators, including Alexander Wiley, ranking Republican of the Foreign Relations Committe, told her that they thought it was a good idea for the world's youth to get together. But Miss Grant and several others were called before the House Committee on Un-American Activities Feb. 2-5 for having attended the Vienna festival last summer and earlier gatherings.

The hearings were the committee's first effort to spend its $327,000 appropriation for 1960, sneaked through the House last month. Like many other recent hearings, this one netted the committee little publicity. Even Hearst's New York **Mirror** and the New York **Daily News** skimped on the story.

The committee was even scooped on a star witness by a sister committee. Benjamin J. Davis, newly elected national secy. of the Communist Party, was to have opened the hearings Feb. 2. But the day before, as he sat as a spectator at hearings of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, Davis engaged in a heated exchange with one of the committee's witnesses. Presiding chairman Sen. Kenneth B. Keating (R-N.Y.) ordered Davis to appear the next morning at 10 a.m. When Davis announced that he was already booked at that hour by the House committee, the time was changed to 9:30 a.m.

**POINTED QUESTION:** Before both committees Davis refused to give information beyond his name and address. At each hearing he said: "Why don't you subpena the lynchers of Mack Parker?" To the Senate committee he added the suggestion that Sen. Eastland "ought to be thrown out of Congress."

The House probers heard first from secret police informer Herbert Philbrick. Committee counsel Richard Arens' first question was: "Tell us about the importance to communism of youth." For the next hour Philbrick intoned on the "apathy, complacency and indifference" of school officials to the "Red threat."

The next witness was Andrew Ilyinsky, who described himself as a former anti-Communist underground fighter in Czechoslovakia, now employed as a U.S. customs agent in New York. He testified that "communist propaganda," in the

(Continued on Page 4)

**HIYO, OUT THERE! C'MON IN, THE COLOR'S FINE—ANY COLOR**
*Two youngsters peer out of the playground at newly-integrated P. S. 68 in Queens, N.Y.*

SOLUTION WOULD MEAN A VAST REORIENTATION

# Will de Gaulle face up to the facts in Algeria?

**By Kumar Goshal**

PRESIDENT CHARLES de Gaulle asked for and received from the French Assembly on Feb. 3 absolute power to rule by decree for one year "for the maintenance of order, the safeguarding of the state, the pacification and administration of Algeria." Whether de Gualle's monumental self-confidence would prove equal to the enormity of his task remained doubtful.

The President took certain measures immediately. He fired two Ministers, reorganized his Cabinet and dispatched to Algiers the Ministers of Justice, Defense and Interior to investigate the Jan. 24 revolt of the European ultras. One of those fired was Jacques Soustelle, who was in charge of atomic, Saharan and French overseas affairs. Soustelle was a key figure in the 1958 ultras' uprising which returned de Gaulle to power.

**THE BASIC ISSUES:** At de Gaulle's order, police in France raided rightist organizations. In Algiers, 40 army officers were confined to quarters, transferred or retired, and organizations such as the French National Front and the May 13 Movement were banned. Several leaders of the Jan. 24 revolt were placed under house arrest.

None of the measures, however, tackled the basic issues: (1) the attitude of the French army in Algeria; (2) the complications arising out of France's stake (private and public) in Algeria; (3) the nature of the Algerian revolution and of the strength of the National Liberation front (FLN).

More than 500,000 French soldiers have been fighting for nearly six years to maintain Algeria as a part of France. The army feels humiliated by the loss of France's Far Eastern, Middle Eastern and North African colonies—except Algeria. It would be unrealistic to expect the French army—without thorough reorientation—to continue to fight the FLN only until a ceasefire, and then to supervise impartially a popular referendum that would almost surely bring to power the same FLN.

Vicky, London Evening Standard
**". . . or to take arms against a sea of troubles, and by opposing end them?"**

**THEY HAVE IT GOOD:** Self-determination for Algerians is a nightmare for the European settlers—moderate and ultras alike. Of Algeria's 9,000,000 population, 1,000,000 are Europeans and, of these, 40% are French (the rest Spanish, Italians, Maltese). A majority have modest incomes; but they enjoy a higher standard of living than they could hope for in Europe—and far higher than the Algerian Moslems. A powerful minority are extremely wealthy; they have long wielded disproportionate power in French politics.

The habit of lording it over the Moslems; control over vast fertile lands and natural resources and a powerful political voice have combined to create a vested interest in Algeria.

**WEALTH OF THE SAHARA:** France's own stake in Algeria, especially the Sahara, is gigantic. There are a billion tons of proved oil reserves at Hassi Messaoud and Edjele alone. By next year, two new pipelines will furnish over 14,000,000 tons, nearly half France's annual needs. When a pipeline through Tunisia is completed next October, oil flow will reach 50,000,000 tons, providing France with an exportable surplus.

There are 30,000 billion cubic feet of

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# THE MAIL BAG

### Now listen, Ike

LYONS, NEB.

A nurse recently arrived in Nebraska from Berlin. She has spent several years in Russia. Among other things, she says, "the people seem to be very fond of Khrushchev and he seems to like all the people. He visits all classes in their homes, farms and factories and stops and talks with them on the streets."

Why don't our leaders do likewise?

Are they afraid we might ask them about wasting our tax dollars on dictators like Franco, Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek?

**Christine Sydow**

### Selfish Sam

TOMAHAWK, WIS.

Hobart McKean's "Spectator" views (Jan. 11) were tops, but I cannot agree with him that this era "marks the end of selfishness." Selfishness will not end as long as "free enterprise" is in operation anywhere in the world.

On his 78th birthday, Sam Rayburn, Speaker of the House, was asked by a reporter: "If you were given one wish which would be granted, what would you wish for?" Now Sam could have wished that all the crippled children in the world would recover and become healthy and happy. He might have wished for an end to poverty, misery, and disease, or for equal rights for all humanity. He might have wished for eternal prosperity with abundance for everyone, everywhere, or that all nations of the world would sign a fool-proof pact to outlaw war in all its insane forms forever. He might have wished for a solution to any of the thousands of problems that plague mankind, but what did this great Christian American wish for?

He told the reporter that he had enjoyed good health all his life, and he wished he could continue to enjoy good health.

How can we expect such men to work for the general welfare of the people, when their one and only thought is for their own well-being?

**John V. Havlan**

### Master plan

NIMOPO, CALIF.

Most thinking people know the road we are taking as a nation. Since that is the case I suggest a plan: **"The Perfect Road to Fascism."**

1. Each time the workers get a raise, raise prices all along the line a few cents so they get no benefit from the wage raise.

2. Never use an even price figure. If the price is 49c, raise it to 59c or 67c. You see, if the price was 50c the buyer would remember but from 49c to 69c there is a certain element of confusion and the purchaser may even figure he's saving a penny.

Next, invest these surplus big profits in the Common Market of Europe so as to avoid taxes here in America—and have a cheap labor supply. Supply the American home market with cheaper European goods so as to create a huge unemployed army here. That way a surplus army of unemployed can be assured to bust the unions in the U.S.

In this way we can create a crisis and then declare some kind of martial law such as Mussolini set up in Italy after World War I.

This plan should give America an unemployed army of some 30,000,000 by 1963 and with their families about 90,000,000 people with no means of livelihood. With a problem that big the American people will agree to anything—including abolishing free speech and free press.

With the aid of cunning advertising agencies we can lay our whole tragic situation at the door of the Reds—no more unions, no more radicals, just a permanent paradise for the rich man.

**L. C. Austin**

London Sunday Express

**"Boss, I'd like you to meet my wife."**

### How about that!

LOS ANGELES

I read the article in the GUARDIAN about the big business of bugging in.

Could you inform me as to where I could get these gadgets, the directional horn-shaped listening device and the portable transmitter and receiver?

Thank you for your information.

**Name withheld**

### A candidate speaks

CHICAGO, ILL.

On May 29, 1958, Sen. Stuart Symington stated in the Senate that the Administration decision to reduce the U.S. Army to 14 divisions was "being taken in the face of sworn testimony that in order for the United States to meet its world commitments, we must have a minimum of 28 modern divisions."

The "sworn testimony" occurs in the following:

**Senator Symington:** How many divisions do you think we should have, based on our international commitments?

**General Gavin:** Well, sir, this is very difficult to say. . . . I think that Gen. Ridgway testified before Congress about three years ago that he thought an optimum peacetime Army under the conditions then prevailing was about 28 divisions, and I think that is a rather good figure. (U.S. Senate, Committee on Armed Services, Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee: **Hearings, Inquiry Into Satellite And Missile Programs,** Nov. 25, 1957 to Jan. 23, 1958, p. 523). An earlier "rubber-stamp" operation is disclosed in the following:

**Air Force Secy. Stuart Symington:** I do not want to appear ignorant about it, sir, but we are primarily interested in selective service because the Army wants it. . . . I do not think we have studied that bill as well as the Army has. . . . Whatever its position . . . we would be glad to support it. (U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Armed Services: **Selective Service Hearings,** April 13, 1948, p. 6142)

**Albert Bofman**

### Ordeal by fire

BRISBANE, CALIF.

A commotion has arisen in Scotland over the case of David Blackhurst, former driver of a tramcar in Glasgow. In January, 1959, the car collided with a heavily-loaded lorry and was set on fire. It would have been possible for the driver to escape. Instead, he remained to shout out a warning, and was burned to death, as were two of the passengers. Twenty-eight escaped, due to Blackhurst's heroic deed.

So far, this is an ordinary accident story. But there is an angle of universal interest. Blackhurst's wife had deserted him many years before. In Britain, divorce is an expensive business. Consequently, Blackhurst and one Helen Jackson commenced housekeeping together and became the parents of two young children. Finally, the obstacles were overcome; and on the very day after the accident they were scheduled to be legally wed.

According to the old Scots law of Irregular Marriage, their open co-habitation constituted a valid marriage; and under it Helen Jackson is entitled to a pension to support herself and the little ones. There are numerous precedents for this. However, the government in this instance refuses to help, and the mother has had to go back to work as a conductress. At this work, she cannot earn enough to feed the family and provide a caretaker for the children.

Petitions have been widely circulated in the matter; but the Roman Catholic church opposes with might and main. They want the old, humane Scottish law supplanted by clerical ukase. Those who claim the Vatican does not interfere in matters of law, are urged to take notice of this instance, where terrific pressure is being brought to bear upon the authorities of Scotland. It is the same thing that happens, without concealment, in the U.S. One instance, with horrible and widespread consequences, was the intervention with President Roosevelt to prevent arms being sent, in accordance with international law, to Spain when Hitler and Mussolini backed the rebels against the Republic, thus bringing it to ruin. Later, Roosevelt acknowledged his mistake.

**Louise Harding Horr**

**"How do I expect to support her? Get a load of this—every credit card there is!"**

### Goes TO the nicest, too

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I made a comparative study of the vitamin packages being offered by various mail order outlets, and the GUARDIAN brand really does have the most content for the least money—besides coming from the nicest people I know.

**Ruth Mooney**

## How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Washington, Jan. 28 (AP)—A little girl in Roseburg, Ore., was advised today that the State Department opposes letting her and her friends write letters to Russian children.

Janis Boyle had asked for a list of names so that she and her classmates in the fourth grade at Riverdale School could make friends with some Russian pen pals.

But word was sent to her through Rep. Charles Porter (D-Ore.), that Assistant Secretary of State William B. Macomber Jr. refused, fearing Red censorship and propaganda.

New York **Daily News,** 1/29/60

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: H. R., Brooklyn, N. Y.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 197 E. 4th St., N.Y. 9, N.Y. Telephone: ORegon 3-3800

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U.S.A. Possessions, Canada, Latin America, Philippine Islands, $5 a year. First class and air mail on request. United Kingdom 35s a year payable to GUARDIAN London Bureau, 16 Talbot Sq., London W2, England; otherwise $6 a year overseas. GUARDIAN Paris Bureau, 103 Avenue de Gravelle, St. Maurice (Seine), France. Single copies 15c. Reentered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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Vol. 12, No. 18 — 401 — February 15, 1960

REPORT TO READERS

# The Age of Overkill

A FULL PAGE AD placed by the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy in the New York **Times** of Feb. 8 appeals for immediate public expression in behalf of a comprehensive treaty banning all nuclear tests.

The SANE argument makes the proponents of a limited ban, excluding what they call "small" underground tests, look silly indeed. The limited ban group ostensibly bases its position on the fact that small underground nuclear explosions could be difficult if not impossible to detect. But SANE points out that the preparations for such explosions would be difficult if not impossible to conceal.

The kind of a hole needed to attempt to conceal such an explosion would require the removal of more tonnage than all the hard coal mined in the U.S. in a year. It would have to be perhaps a half mile deep, with an explosion chamber at the bottom underlying several acres. No such underground hole now exists. It would take a matter of years to dig one. The notion that such a "dig" could be concealed from air detection is hilarious.

THE REAL REASON for making underground tests the sticking point is that the Pentagon and the Atomic Energy Commission do not want any kind of a test ban, and therefore have advanced Dr. Edward Teller's "big hole" theory in order to stymie the Geneva negotiations altogether.

The same issue of the **Times** which carried the SANE ad had a front-page story from the usual "informed sources" in Washington that the U.S. and Britain are ready with a new plan to submit at Geneva—one which would ban all tests but underground ones below a threshold of 20 kilotons (the equivalent of blowing up 20,000 tons of TNT). Some State Dept. people want to add a two-year moratorium on the underground tests, too, while a better detection system is worked out.

But, say the Pentagon-AEC people, the danger is that the U.S.S.R. might accept such a treaty with the attached moratorium, and "once in a moratorium, we will never be able to get out." The **Times** account continued:

"It is reported that arguments opposed to the moratorium proviso have carried the day."

THE SANE AD, pointing up the perils of continuing the nuclear arms race, had this to say: "We have entered the Age of Overkill. Both the U.S. and the Soviet Union already possess more than enough nuclear weapons to kill one another several times over.

"Question: Do we achieve supremacy when we are able to destroy an enemy 50 times over whereas the enemy can destroy us only 48 times? . . .

"A ban on nuclear testing will not by itself . . . dispose of the danger of Overkill. . . . All it can do is give the world a place to take hold. . . . It can set us on the long, hard road to a workable peace. The Geneva Conference is where we begin."

The 70-odd sponsors and signers of the SANE statement included Steve Allen, Harry Belafonte and actor Robert Ryan, along with Brig. Gen. Hugh B. Hester (Ret.), the Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick, minister emeritus of the Riverside Church (the Rockefeller church) the Rev. Martin Luther King, Walt Kelly (**Pogo**), labor leaders Patrick E. Gorman and A. O. Knight, sociologists C. Wright Mills and David Reisman, symphony conductor Bruno Walter, Socialist leader Norman Thomas, Dr. Linus Pauling, Dr. David R. Inglis, chairman of the American Federation of Scientists, and Dr. Jay Orear, Cornell physicist and a representative at the "foothills" conference in London early this month.

(On a TV broadcast on his return Dr. Orear disclosed a development not published in the press: that the Soviets were prepared to agree to multiplying the inspection system "by a factor of six," to meet the West's stated fears on detection of underground violations of a comprehensive ban.)

BRITAIN'S APPARENT CONCURRENCE in U.S. maneuvering at Geneva, plus the fact that U.S. Gen. Lauris Norstad chose a British forum to announce that NATO would give nuclear weapons to West Germany despite widespread British revulsion over the idea, is scheduled to be the subject of a full-scale foreign debate in the House of Commons.

Letters should pour in on President Eisenhower urging negotiation of a full, unlimited ban on nuclear tests and cancellation of plans to give nuclear arms to Germany or any other nations. Also, keep after your Senators, who will have the last word when any treaty negotiated comes up for approval.

**THE GUARDIAN**

DIXIECRATS STALL ACTION IN HOUSE

# Congress gets set for b attle over civil rights

By Russ Nixon
Guardian staff correspondent
WASHINGTON

CIVIL RIGHTS legislation is now the main act on the Congressional stage. This irrepressible issue (see p. 8) is coming up simultaneously in the Senate and the House in a variety of ways. Here's a summary of the situation:

Last Aug. 20 the House Judiciary Committee reported out H.R. 8601 which would impose criminal penalties for obstructing court-ordered school integration; provide Federal action against arsonists and dynamiters fleeing across state lines; preserve Federal voting records, and provide schooling for servicemen's children in areas where integration disputes closed schools. Judiciary Committee Chairman Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) supported the bill but called it "week, watered down, toothless."

**AN OPEN RULE:** When a combination of Dixiecrats and Republicans on the House Rules Committee bottled up H.R. 8601, a petition requiring 219 signers was undertaken to bypass the roadblock and get House action. About 200 House members have already signed, and the prospect of the petition's success forced Rules Committee Chairman Howard Smith (D-Va.) to start hearings on a rule for the civil rights bill. (That is, whether the bill will be reported out, and if so, under what conditions of debate).

Civil rights supporters are demanding an open rule that will permit amendments strengthening H.R. 8601. Rep. Smith has promised not to "dilly, dally, or delay," but said he might "wiggle and fool around a little bit." Prospects are that a rule will be granted and the House will take up H.R. 8601 early in March.

**REFEREE OR REGISTRAR:** The civil

Herblock, Washington Post

**"You the man who's been asking for me to step outside?"**

rights picture has been confused by the belated proposal of Attorney General Rogers for Federal court-appointed referees to protect Negro voting rights (GUARDIAN, Feb. 8). The ranking Judiciary Committee Repubican, William McCulloch (Ohio), has introduced H.R. 10035 to set up the Rogers referee plan. Earlier, Rep. Celler introduced H.R. 9452, providing Federal voting registrars as suggested by the Civil Rights Commission.

Judiciary Committee hearings are under way on these new plans. Rep. Smith is using this situation to delay further Rules Committee action until, as he says, the civil rights "political agitators" decide whether "to manacle the South with carpet-bagger referees or carpetbagger registrars."

**TITLE III THE KEY:** In the flurry over these new schemes, the vital proposal—Title III—to give the Attorney General injunctive power really to enforce civil rights, which was cut out of the Civil Rights Act of 1957, seems to have been shunted aside. The Administration has specifically dropped its earlier sponsorship of this effective provision in what Sen. Thomas Hennings (D Mo.) called a "backward step." It is very possible that the most meaningful votes in both Senate and House will come on the effort to put teeth in the 1957 Act by restoring Title III.

The House is also facing another discharge petition on the issue of home rule for Washington, D.C. This has strong civil rights significance. The voteless, taxed-without-representation million residents of the nation's Capital are 53% Negro. This fact has long been the basis of Southern opposition to home rule. As Virginia's Gov. J. Lindsay Almond put the Southern case against a vote for Washington citizens: "An element will take over that will not redound to the benefit of the District of Columbia." More than 150 of the needed 219 Congressmen have signed the discharge petition for home rule.

**IN THE SENATE:** A bi-partisan agreement indicates that civil rights will get on the Senate floor in mid-February.

Sen. James Eastland (D.-Miss.) as chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, has completely blocked civil rights legislation which normally would go through his committee. As a bypass, the Senate Rules Committee headed by Hennings has been holding hearings on civil rights, especially on the registrar and referee proposals.

A large variety of civil rights bills have been introduced in the Senate. Minority leader Everett M. Dirksen (R-Ill.) said he will introduce the President's seven-point civil rights package which includes the voter referee plan, statutory authority for a Commission of Equal Job Opportunities, and special aid to areas seeking to desegregate their public schools. Majority Leader Johnson (D-Tex.) has his own bill, S. 499, contrived to win friends in the North while creating no enemies in the South. Senate advocates of civil rights have put in bills covering the whole range of proposals to strengthen the Civil Rights Act of 1957.

**POLL TAX ISSUE:** All of these proposals may be before the Senate when it begins its lengthy debate this month. During the debate, it is anticipated that the Senate will receive a civil rights bill passed by the House.

On Feb. 2, the Senate voted 70 to 18 for Constitutional amendments to outlaw the poll tax and let Washington residents vote for President and Vice President. An amendment offered by Sen. Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.) to substitute a direct elimination of the poll tax for the questionable and roundabout Constitutional approach was defeated 50 to 37. The House now has this measure, with a two-thirds vote required there before it can be submitted to the 50 states for ratification. Then 38 states must approve before the Constitution is amended. House action is unlikely.

**SOUTHERN LAMENT:** Dixiecrat spokesman William Colmer (D-Miss.) lamented in the House Rules Committee that "all of a sudden we have to have a Civil Rights bill every election year. Is that the only way you Northerners can get re-elected and keep your highly prized seats in Congress?" Georgia Senators Russell and Talmadge charged that the civil rights pressure was all the result of the political pressure of the Negroes in the North.

ARMED STRIKEBREAKERS USED

# Packinghouse union appeals: 'Don't buy Wilson products'

By Robert E. Light

"PLEASE DON'T BUY Wilson products," a leaflet by the AFL-CIO United Packinghouse Workers asks; "they may have been processed by gun-toting strikebreakers." The boycott is the union's attempt to win a strike for its life which began last Nov. 3.

During the dispute, Wilson, the nation's third largest meat packer, has used a score of old tactics to break the union and has invented some new ones made possible by the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin "labor reform" law.

Contracts in the meat packing industry expired last Aug. 31. UPW and the AFL-CIO Amalgamated Meat Cutters between them represent the overwhelming majority of workers in the industry. (The unions have talked of merging). Just before deadline Armour & Co. signed with the unions. The two-year contract granted wage and fringe benefit increases totalling 22 cents an hour plus a company-financed automation fund.

Several small companies signed along the lines of the Armour agreement but two of the largest, Swift and Wilson, held out. The unions struck Swift on Sept. 4, but at Wilson, where the UPW is certified, the old contract was extended on a day-to-day basis.

**THE PLEDGE:** The strike at Swift was settled in seven weeks with the unions getting most of what they wanted, and the UPW turned to Wilson. While negotiations were going on, a group of workers at Wilson's plant in Albert Lea, Minn., were ordered from the plant for refusing to work a nine-hour day. On reporting for work the next day all employes were asked to sign this pledge: "I agree that I will work the hours scheduled and observe the rules and regulations of the company and I understand that upon failure to do so I will be subject to disciplinary action including discharge."

The union labeled the pledge a "yellow dog" contract and the workers refused to sign. The company barred them from the plant. In retaliation the union set up a picket line. When the company broke off talks, the work stoppage spread to other Wilson plants in Cedar Rapids, Ia., Omaha, Neb., Memphis, Tenn., Kansas City, Mo., and Los Angeles. By Nov. 3, 5,500 workers had walked out; the dispute was a full-scale strike.

Wilson president James D. Cooney refused to resume negotiations unless the union gave "binding assurances" that it would drop demands which "usurp management prerogatives." By the end of November Wilson reopened its plants with non-union help recruited from neighboring farm communities and from other cities.

**MARTIAL LAW:** Violence broke out at the Albert Lea plant on Dec. 9 and 10 as 1,000 pickets and townspeople threw stones at cars carrying strikebreakers. City and county officials called on Gov. Orville Freeman for help. They said that strikebreakers were carrying "large numbers of weapons, including guns, knives and blackjacks." They also said Wilson officials had requested "tear-gas and riot guns for use within the plant area."

Freeman declared martial law and sent in 200 National Guardsmen on Dec. 11. To prevent bloodshed, Freeman closed the plant. But Wilson got a Federal court order rescinding Freeman's actions and the plant reopened Dec. 28.

Negotiations resumed but broke down again after company officials rejected a suggestion by four governors in states with struck plants that all unresolved issues be put to arbitration. Company officials insisted that they could bargain

**THESE GUARDSMEN KEPT THE PEACE FOR A TIME**
*But the company later reopened the plant with armed scabs*

no more with the UPW because a new union, the Natl. Brotherhood of Packinghouse Workers, had petitioned for certification as a bargaining agent.

**UNION OF SCABS:** UPW president Ralph Helstein said the brotherhood had been invited to the plant by the company and that its membership consisted entirely of strikebreakers hired since November. "The record would have to be searched long and hard," he added, "to find another instance of a union being formed among the strikebreakers for the sole purpose of destroying a union."

He also pointed out that the company's tactic was possible because under the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin law both strikers and their "replacements" can vote in a representation election.

On Jan. 20 Wilson officials made a "final offer" to the UPW. They said that they could not discuss a contract until representation was clarified, but meanwhile the strikers could go back to work without a formal agreement. But, the company added, 2,000 to 2,400 strikers who have been "permanently replaced" and those strikers who "engaged in violence" cannot be rehired.

Helstein called the offer "insulting and fantastic."

**WATCH YOUR BRANDS:** On the picket line the strike remains solid. Almost no strikers have gone back to work. Some financial help has come from other unions. But the strikers believe their success depends largely on the effectiveness of their boycott.

These are the brand names of Wilson products the strikers ask the public not to buy:

Cured meats: Certified, Tender Made, Corn King, Wilsco, Krisp Rite, Laurel and Sinclair.

Dairy, poultry, margarine: Certified, Clearbrook, Savory, Blue Bell and Wilson.

Shortening: Laurel, Bake Rite, Wilsco, Advance, Frasto, Fryrite and Py-lard.

Pet Food: Ideal Dog Food and 4-Paws.

Canned Meats: Wilson, Mor, Bif, Menu Pac and Jane Wilson.

Athletic Goods: Wilson, Walter Hagen and Sam Snead.

**IT WILL TAKE PLENTY TO DEMOCRATIZE THIS ARMY**
*Army troops fraternizing with the "enemy" rebels in Algiers*

# The Algeria story

*(Continued from Page 1)*

natural gas at Hassi R'Mel, the world's third largest field, with reserves to supply France's power needs for 25 years. Natural gas pipelines are now planned to Mostaganem, on the Algerian coast, later ones under the Mediterranean to Cartagena in Spain and then to France.

There are three billion tons of iron at Tindouf; 1,000,000 tons of manganese at Colomb-Bechar; huge copper deposits in Mauritania (one mine at Akjout will soon produce 60,000 tons a year).

French investment in Algeria has been increasing at the rate of $600,000,000 a year. No wonder de Gaulle has said he will "never surrender" the Sahara riches, no matter what. Soustelle, as Saharan Affairs Minister, declared: "Here, in this desert region, the destiny of France will be settled."

**THEY REPRESENT ALGERIA:** For the Algerian Moslems the revolution is part of the worldwide struggle of colonial peoples for freedom to use their resources for their own benefit. Six years of successful guerrilla warfare against heavy odds would seem to establish the FLN's right to speak for the Algerians and negotiate with France.

Further proof was provided at the second All-African People's Conference in Tunis, which opened Jan. 25. Reuters reported (Jan. 26) that the "biggest ovation was given to Moroccan delegate Mahjoud Ben Seddik, who called for volunteers to fight the French in Algeria." Cheers greeted Ghana's Economic Minister, Kotjo Botsio, when he announced that Accra would "put nothing in the way" of Ghanaians who wished to volunteer. Crowning proof of the FLN's representative character came when Algerian Moslems heeded the FLN's advice to "remain calm and neutral" during the Jan. 24 ultra uprising, rather than respond to French Delegate Delouvrier's plea to march in support of de Gaulle.

**ROAD TO SOLUTION:** A genuine solution to the Algerian problem would mean doing these things: (1) democratize the French army; (2) persuade the European settlers to live without special privilege as a cooperative minority in an Algeria ruled by a Moslem majority; (3) negotiate with the FLN on handing over power in stages to the Algerians; (4) work out a method by which both Algeria and France would profit by the Saharan wealth until, perhaps through the UN, the future of foreign-owned resources in underdeveloped countries is resolved.

With Communist, Socialist and Catholic trade unions united behind him after Jan. 24, de Gaulle had an extraordinary opportunity to democratize both the government and the army. He chose instead to ask for powers he already in effect possessed.

**PARTITION PLAN:** De Gaulle's statements on Algeria's future have become increasingly more definite in promises to the settlers and indefinite to the Moslems. He has already promised that if the Moslems in a referendum chose independence, Algeria would be partitioned, with the settlers getting the Saharan resources. In a Jan. 29 speech he practically guaranteed protection for the settlers' interests.

FLN leaders in Tunis told **France-Observateur** reporter Claude Estier (Jan. 26) that "unofficial" negotiations have been going on for months between them and "gentlemen from Paris." These "gentlemen" said French-Algerian talks could begin if the FLN dropped its advance demand for independence. It was dropped; nothing changed.

Then the FLN, urged to give up its demand for a meeting on neutral soil, agreed to meet in Paris and named its representatives. Then it was told the names were not acceptable.

FLN leaders said they were aware of the real nature of the gulf between them and de Gaulle: "De Gaulle sees self-determination as the last stage in a process set up by himself outside of us. What he wants is not a discussion with us, but to make us enter into his system."

**WHAT OF DE GAULLE?** The FLN has made many concessions. They have agreed to let economic issues await a neutrally-supervised referendum which would follow a cease fire and regrouping of troops into clearly defined areas. But de Gaulle continues to insist that the Algerians place their trust in his infinite wisdom.

Meanwhile, the French army remains committed to a French Algeria. Soustelle has practically declared war on de Gaulle by pledging to continue his fight to keep Algeria French and threatens to become the rallying point of the settlers. Not invited to take part in a solution, the French public remains confused.

President de Gaulle now says: "I am the state." He may have to add soon: "After me, the deluge."

# Un-Americans defied

*(Continued from Page 1)*

form of world youth publications, was "pouring into" the country.

**BACKGROUND:** Ilyinsky said he was born in Prague, Czechoslovakia, in 1926 of White Russian parents and studied at the University of Munich and later at Brooklyn College. When Arens tried to establish Ilyinsky's backrogund, this exchange took place:

**Ilyinsky:** During the Second World War, I was active in several Czechoslovakian and Russian anti-communist groups and working in that field I gained a very intimate knowledge of tactics and methods of international communism.

**Arens:** This was behind the Iron Curtain and in Czechoslovakia, was it not?

**Ilyinsky:** That is right.

**Arens:** First, when did you come to this country, so that we can get the dates?

**Ilyinsky:** In September of 1947 I came to the U.S.

**Arens:** If you please, then give us just a word of your experience in the anti-communist movement behind the Iron Curtain.

**Ilyinksy:** I can say only that I have suffered greatly through my activities because, shortly after the war, I was imprisoned by the communists and kept in prisons in different Eastern European countries . . .

Ilyinsky went on to say that he was sentenced to 25 years at hard labor but escaped and came to America.

**CONSCIENCE:** To the next two witnesses, Jacob Rosen and Fred Jerome, Ilyinsky's appearance was ground for refusing to cooperate with the committee. Rosen said: "My conscience will not permit me to cooperate with any group that knowingly and willingly seeks the aid of a confessed and unrepentant Nazi. I will have no dealings with those who killed hundreds of thousands of American soldiers and murdered 6,000,000 of my people—the Jewish people—nor with those who attempt to hide their crime and give them respectability, such as this committee."

The witnesses' reference to Ilyinsky's apparent Nazi background put a damper on committee hopes for extensive publicity. Chairman Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.) adjourned the hearings for the day in the middle of Jerome's testimony.

"Friendly" witnesses included Herbert Rommerstein and Charles Wiley, who said that the American delegation to the Vienna Festival was dominated by Communists although most of the youth were not CP members.

**PICKETS:** Other witnesses who refused to cooperate with the committee included Miss Grant, Leroy Wolins, and Alan H. McGowan. The hearings closed with Paul Robeson Jr. who cited the First, Fifth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Sixteenth Amendments as grounds for refusing to answer questions.

During the hearings 127 members of Youth Against the House Un-American Activities Committee picketed the White House. They had come by bus from New York and Philadelphia. They carried signs readings: "Is Peace Un-American?"; "Ike and K Met for Peace, Why Can't We?" and "Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee." Later they broke into groups and visited Congressmen.

Revulsion against the committee was also expressed by others. Lawrence Speiser, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, served as counsel for seven of the "unfriendly" witnesses because, he said, the committee's mandate is in violation of the First Amendment.

**PROTEST:** On the eve of the hearings 13 prominent citizens issued a statement protesting the committee's action. While making clear that the signers did not necessarily endorse the World Youth Festivals, the statement said: "We do not feel, however, that any constitutional purpose can be served by such investigations. . . . The present investigation can only serve to further discourage social and cultural contacts with the people of other countries, whom American students and other citizens need to understand." Singers included: Roger Baldwin, Stringfellow Barr, Judge Hubert Delany, Rev. Phillips Elliot, Eugene Exman, Robert W. Gilmore, Rev. Donald Harrington, Rabbi Isadore Hoffman, Lewis Mumford, Rev. A. J. Muste, Rev. Reinhold Niebuhr, Clarence Pickett and Norman Thomas.

An editorial in the Washington **Post** on Jan. 31 pointed out that if the committee wanted to know about the festivals, "it could have issued a courteous invitation to these youngsters to come and tell about their observations and experiences; that is the customary Congressional procedure. If the House of Representatives really wants to learn about the Festivals, the inquiry ought to be made by its Committee on Foreign Affairs."

**OTHER ACTIONS:** In Congress, Rep. James Roosevelt (D-Calif.) was preparing a speech denouncing the committee and calling for its abolition. Letters to Congressmen asking their support of Roosevelt's move are a way of guaranteeing that the issue will be raised.

Elsewhere on the civil liberties front:

- Paul Rosenkrantz of Springfield, Mass, became the fourth First Amendment defendant to be jailed in the past three months when he began serving a three-month contempt sentence Feb. 8. He had admitted past membership in the Communist Party to a House committee March 20, 1958, but he refused to name others and was cited for contempt.
- Federal Judge Edward Weinfeld denied a government motion to quash a subpena served on Un-American Activities Committee chairman Walter by Pete Seeger. In 1955 Seeger invoked the First Amendment in refusing to answer committee questions and was cited for contempt. He is scheduled to go on trial March 21.
- Federal Judge F. Dickinson Letts dismissed several contempt charges against unionists Frank Grumman of Fort Lee, N. J., and Bernard Silber of New York City on the grounds that a House committee had not made a distinction in its questions between "communist" and "member of the Communist Party." Their appeal argued that "communist" was a vague term used to describe non-members as well as CP members. Letts left standing contempt charges based on refusal to answer questions which specified "Communist Party."
- Rep. Walter sneaked a bill through the House Feb. 2 reviving the security program for 3,000,000 employes in private defense plants; the program was struck down by the Supreme Court last June. The bill gives the Secy. of Defense blanket authority to deny security clearance to persons based on secret information. It does not provide the right of an accused person to face his accuser.

The bill came up on the consent calendar, used ordinarily for non-controversial matters. Under usual procedure, the clerk reads a long list of bills by number and title and if no one objects, they are passed automatically. Walter had proposed the bill last September but withdrew it when opposition appeared. This year opponents were caught napping.

**SPECIAL ELECTION IN THE BRONX**

# Puerto Rican bucks Democratic machine

A PUERTO RICAN-BORN Bronx lawyer, Sixto Laureano, is challenging the Bronx County Democratic machine in a special New York election March 8 for the Congressional seat vacated by Isidore Dollinger, now Bronx district attorney.

The C.D. involved has about 120,000 voters, perhaps three-fourths Negro, Puerto Rican and Spanish-speaking. The Democratic machine rejected demands for a Negro or Puerto Rican candidate, and designated State Senator Jacob H. Gilbert for the seat. Republicans and Liberals had not yet designated candidates at GUARDIAN press time. There was a possibility that Liberals might back Laureano, a 38-year-old registered Democrat and World War II veteran who lost his left arm in the Battle of Leyte.

**ISACSON RECALLED:** Laureano lives with his wife, Phyllis, and two daughters, Laurene and Lisette, on Roosevelt Ave., the Bronx. He is a member of the law firm of Laureano & Margulies of 1006 E. 163d St., in the heart of the disputed C.D.

The C.D. is the one in which an American Labor Party candidate, Leo Isacson, defeated Democratic, Republican and Liberal candidates in a special election in 1948 for the Congressional seat later won from him by Dollinger.

Laureano has set up headquarters at 923 Westchester Ave., near 163d St. A minimum of 3,000 valid signatures of registered voters must be obtained by March 1 to secure his place on the ballot. He needs canvassers and funds. Checks may be made out to Independent Citizens Committee for Sixto Laureano. The headquarters are near the Intervale Ave. station on the IRT White Plains Road subway line.

THE WAR TO PRESERVE SLAVERY

# Du Bois: The lie of history as it is taught today

By W. E. B. Du Bois

ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO next year this nation began a war more horrible than most wars, and all wars stink. From 1861 to 1865 Americans fought Americans, North fought South, brothers fought brothers. All trampled on the faces of four million black folk cowering beneath their feet in mud and blood. Some Americans hated slavery but were unwilling to fight. They would let the "erring sisters depart in peace," with their elegant luxury, cringing service and home-grown concubines. Free Negroes and their white friends organized the escape of slaves and fugitive slaves became a main cause of war. One man, John Brown, fought slavery with bare fists and was crucified three years before the flash of Sumter.

So the nation reeled into murder, hate, hurt and destruction until they killed 493,273 human beings in battle, left a million more in pain, and nearly bankrupted the whole nation. "We are not fighting slavery," cried the North. "We are fighting for independence," cried the South. "We are not fighting with Negroes," insisted the North as it returned black fugitives. "Negroes do not want to be free," jeered the South; Negroes whispered: "Let us fight for freedom." The Northerners hated the struggle and nearly all who could bought immunity, while some laborers rioted and hanged Negroes to lamp posts. Most workers refused to volunteer and thousands of soldiers deserted from the ranks.

The South yelled and rushed to war, ran the Northerners home again and again, ranted and blustered and tried to frighten victory out of impossible odds, while their soldiers deserted in increasing droves.

LOUDER AND LOUDER rose voices in the North: "Free the slaves!" It was the only real reason for war. Lincoln was firm: "I am not fighting to free slaves but only for Union"—union to planting, manufacture and trade. Still voices arose led by Frederick Douglass: "Arm the slaves." Lincoln said: "It would be giving arms to the enemy."

The Northern armies began to use the slaves as servants, stevedores and spies; already the Southerners were using the slaves to guard their families and to raise food and clothes for themselves as they fought the fight for slavery. The world looked in amazement on this new free democracy as it staggered, killed and destroyed, both sides appealing for help.

Slowly in the gloom thousands of black slaves began silently to move from plantation to the camps of the Northern armies. Slowly the nation joined the cry of black and white abolitionists: "Free the slaves!" And the bleeding trenches added: "Arm them. The slaves are already armed with muscles if not with guns. They will feed the slave power unless ws use them." Black regiments appeared in Kansas, South Carolina and Louisiana. Finally Lincoln saw the truth and dared to change his mind. He offered compensated emancipation and colonization of blacks abroad. The South refused. The war reached bloody stalemate and the nation trembled. Volunteers ceased to offer and corpses clogged the rivers of Virginia. Lee started North, and Lincoln threatened. "Surrender or I abolish slavery," he cried in September, 1862, beneath the smoke of Antietam. He armed eventually two hundred thousand slaves and a million awaited his call.

THE NEGROES FOUGHT like the damned, two hundred thousand of them; led by two hundred black officers and subalterns, they tore into a hundred and more battles and left seventy thousand dead and dying on the fields. They served in every arm of service and in every area of struggle. They were slaughtered at Fort Wagner to hold Carolina. They committed suicide at Port Hudson so that the Father of Waters should flow "unvexed to the sea." They were buried in the Crater to help Grant capture Richmond, the capitol of the Confederacy, and a black regiment led Abraham Lincoln through the city singing,

"John Brown's body lies a' moldering in the grave
But his soul goes marching on . . ."

The South cursed them and treated them as outlaws; Forest murdered and burned them at Fort Pillow. But Lincoln testified that without these black soldiers and the hundreds of thousands of Negro laborers, guards, informers and spies we could not have won the war. On January 1, 1863, Lincoln declared the slaves in rebel territory "then, thenceforward and forever free." The South saw hell in the blazing heavens and with one last gasp tried themselves openly to arm the slaves. They failed and Lee surrendered.

Such was the sordid tale of the war which has been called the "Rebellion," the "Civil War" and the "War Between the States," but whose real name was the "War to Preserve Slavery." That was the only name which made sense to those who fought the war and those who supported it. It sang in their songs and chanted in their poetry:

"In the beauty of the lilies
Christ was born across the sea.
As he died to make men holy,
Let us die to make men free . . ."

THEN WE TURNED from the abolition of slavery to our muttons: to making money. Some Americans stepped forward with alms and teachers for the black freed men. Some rushed South to make money with cheap labor and high cotton. But most of the nation tried to forget the Negro. He was free, what more did he want? He asked for a Freedmen's Bureau and got a small one paid for mainly with the unclaimed bounties of dead black soldiers. Philanthropists gave him a bank and cheated him out of most of his savings when it failed. Votes? Nonsense, unless planters demand a lower tariff, payment for the Confederate debt and compensation for freed slaves.

We refused to let the horrible mistake of war teach our children anything. We gave it less and less space in our textbooks, until today slavery gets a paragraph and the Civil War a page.

Moreover, the whole cause and meaning of the war is distorted in 10,000 books which falsify the real story. Now in weighty tome, gaudy magazine and television the war was merely an unfortunate misunderstanding. It seems nobody wanted slavery and the South, having had it forced upon her, was about to abolish it but for senseless, impatient agitation. All of our history from the Missouri Compromise through the Compromise of 1850 to the secession of South Carolina is being thus rewritten and the Negro painted as a contented slave, a lazy freedman, a thieving voter and today as happily integrated into American life.

Thereupon with no guidance from the past the nation marched on with officers strutting, bands playing and flags flying to secure colonial empire and new cheap slave labor and land monopoly in Asia, Africa and the islands of the seas. We fought two World Wars killing nearly 500,000 American youth, and added 50,000 more dead by "police action" in Korea. In all we destroyed more wealth than we have since been able to count. We are now wasting $40,000,000,000 a year for more wars and we owe $284,000,000,000 for past wars. In sixty years we have spent only $14 billion for education.

SO NOW COMES THE TIME to celebrate the War to Preserve Slavery. The South, which for a century has insisted that theirs was a just war fought with the highest motives by the noblest of men, is pouring forth books and pamphlets to prove this. This all Southern white children have been taught to believe until it is to most of them a matter of absolute and indisputable truth. Historians, North and South, have spread the story and artists have depicted it, so that most Southern states next year will celebrate as a triumph in human effort this despicable struggle to keep black Americans in slavery.

The North, on the other hand, sees little reason to remember or celebrate this war. It would prefer to forget it, but most Northern states will stage some sort of celebration to recall the keeping of this nation united for producing more millionaires than any other people and for proving what philanthropists we are. We gave and are still giving alms to Negroes.

The South will preen itself. What a courageous folk, lynching singlehanded since the Civil War 5,000 helpless Negroes and disfranchising millions. Virginia will lead the rejoicing with a $1,750,000 centennial budget and Mississippi is following with $500,000. Arkansas will join in with Faubus, and Georgia will sing the Jubilee, but not with "Marching Through Georgia." Colored citizens will be asked to attest how loyally they protected old master's family while he fought for slavery.

The whole United States will stage a mighty pageant to cost at first $200,000 and millions later. Big Business, including the Stock Exchange and travel bureaus, will play a major part, but the emancipation of slaves will be ignored. So says the head of the Centennial committee, a nice old white gentleman with a black mammy who serves under an army general, called deservedly the Third Ulysses S. Grant.

LISTEN AMERICA! Hear that we will not celebrate the freeing of four million slaves! O dark Potomac where looms the gloom of the Lincoln Memorial. Fa-

*(Continued on Page 8)*

**ABOUT THIS ISSUE**

**Dr. Du Bois' eminence as a historian needs no detailing for our readers. Truman Nelson (p. 6) is at work on a novel based on the life of John Brown. Louis Burnham of the GUARDIAN staff (p. 7) is one of the nation's keenest analysts of Negro affairs. The Civil War photo on this page and the photo of Lincoln were taken by Mathew Brady. The drawing on p. 6 is from "A Pictorial History of the Negro in America" by Langston Hughes and Milton Meltzer (Crown); those on p. 9 from Roger Butterfield's "The American Past" (Simon & Schuster).**

DAVID WALKER: A MAN TO REMEMBER

# An early 'mover of insubordination'

By Truman Nelson

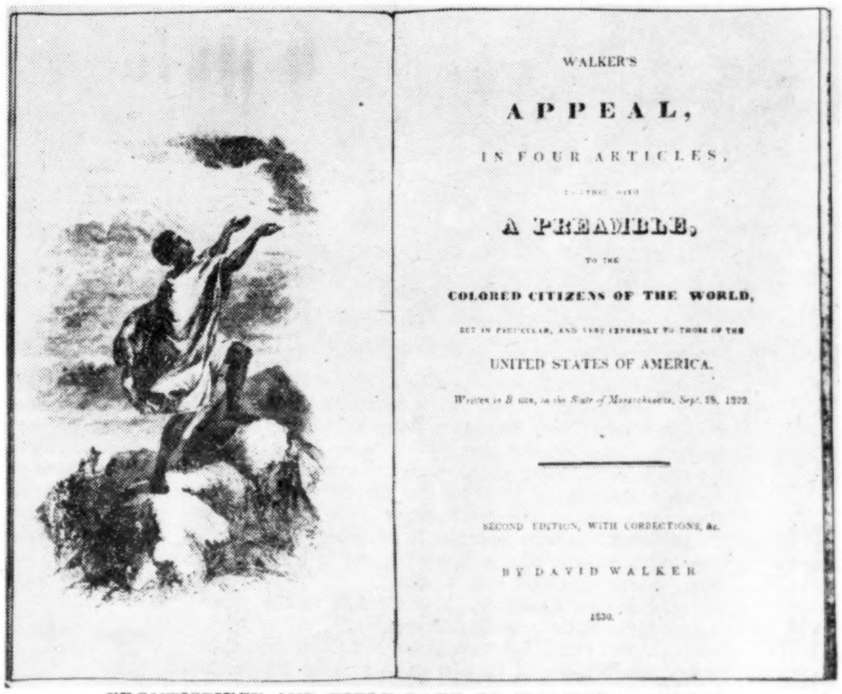
IT MUST SEEM very curious to students of American history that in the canon of revolutionary tracts and testaments to freedom written at the time when American literature was prophecy and enlightenment, there are no examples by the Negro, of the Negro and for the Negro. But the insidious evil of racism has stained so deeply into our consciousness that to remind Negroes, even today, that this country was founded on the moral concept that all men have inalienable rights, and that if these rights are threatened or subverted, it is not only their privilege but their duty to overthrow and punish those public servants denying them—to remind Negroes of this is an obligation from which the most liberal historians shrink.

It is highly commendable, in fact, it is expected of these historians to remind every white man that resistance to dictators, large or small, or to oppressive laws which stop short of the full scope of dispassionate justice, is our most glorious tradition. But the Negro is another matter: when you apply the identical words to him you are "stirring up racial hatred," and reopening wounds that have not bled since the merciful stillness of Appomattox.

SO IT IS NO WONDER that the verbal splendor of David Walker's APPEAL, IN FOUR ARTICLES, TOGETHER WITH A PREAMBLE, TO THE COLORED CITIZENS OF THE WORLD BUT IN PARTICULAR, AND VERY EXPRESSLY, TO THOSE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, is missing from almost all bibliographies and indexes. It begins treasonably: "My dearly beloved brethren and fellow citizens." This was in 1829, a day in which it was the custom, later stratified into law in the Dred Scott Decision, to regard even the free Negro as lacking citizenship. Walker wrote:

"Having traveled over a considerable portion of these United States, and having, in the course of my travels, taken the most accurate observations of things as they exist, the result of my observation has warranted the full and unshaken conviction that we [the colored people of the United States] are the most degraded, wretched and abject set of beings that have lived since the world began and I pray God that none like us ever live until time shall be no more."

The revolutionary tractarian must have—in addition to that arrogance, certainty and vulnerability which abounds in the polemics of Milton, Tolstoy and Paine—no qualms about belaboring the obvious. For, as Rabbi Hanokh of Alexander points out: "The real slavery in Israel in Egypt was that they had learned to endure it."


WALKER'S

APPEAL,

IN FOUR ARTICLES,

TOGETHER WITH

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TO THE

COLORED CITIZENS OF THE WORLD,

BUT IN PARTICULAR, AND VERY EXPRESSLY TO THOSE OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Written in Boston, in the State of Massachusetts, Sept. 28, 1829.

SECOND EDITION, WITH CORRECTIONS, &c.

BY DAVID WALKER

1830.

**FRONTISPIECE AND TITLE PAGE OF WALKER'S 'APPEAL'**
*For being a premature rebel, he predicted his own death*

Walker then plunged into a comparison of all prior forms of slavery in a style so elevated and scholarly that it is a great wonder the Southerners went to so much trouble to suppress this pamphlet (searching all incoming vessels for copies of it), seeing that it could do harm only if read by a race whom they declared to be the most irretrievably stupid and barbarous on the face of the earth. His conclusion was that the Christian-Republican form of chattel slavery in the United States contains wrongs of "such incomprehensible magnitude, so impenetrable and so notorious that they can only bring terror and dismay to every reflecting mind."

WALKER SHOWS his wisdom and his mettle by declaring, right off, his expectation "that I will not only be assailed by those whose greatest earthly desires are to keep us in abject ignorance and wretchedness, and who are of the firm conviction that God has designed us and our children to be beasts of burden to them and their children . . . and held up to the public as an ignorant, impudent and restless disturber of the public peace by such avaricious creatures, but I am persuaded that many of my own brethren, particularly those who are in league with the slave-holders or tyrants, who acquire their daily bread by the blood and sweat of their more ignorant brethren, who are too ignorant to see an inch before their noses, will rise up and call me cursed. Yea, the jealous ones among us will perhaps use more abject subtlety, by affirming that this work is not worth reading, that we are well situated and there is no use to try to better our situation, for we cannot."

Here is a man laying it on the line as no white abolitionist ever could, because he was a Negro, born of a free mother and a slave father, who had educated himself and was now supporting himself on the proceeds of a pitiful little second-hand clothing store in Boston.

"If you want to know who I am," he says, "I am one of the oppressed, degraded and wretched sons of Africa, rendered so by the avaricious and unmerciful among the whites."

THIS GAVE HIM the stance to plead with his people to awake to their degradation and their duty. This duty, he felt, was to make those whites acquainted with history, mindful that terrible, bloody retribution has always come to slaveholding nations: "For although the destruction of the oppressors God may not affect by the oppressed, yet the Lord will bring other destructions on them, shall cause them to rise up, one against another, to be split, divided, and to oppress each other and sometimes to open hostilities with sword in hand."

Likewise, to remind those whites constantly walking around with the Bible in their hands that God made no other master for men than Himself and that Negroes were men "notwithstanding our improminent noses and wooly heads."

He told them they were too quick to run to their natural enemies to spread news and lies about matters that were no one's business but their own, and which often, unwittingly, led to a betrayal. "Unless you are united, keeping your tongue beneath your teeth, you will be afraid to trust your secrets to each other and thus perpetuate our miseries . . . and the Christians."

He gave them four basic reasons for their bondage: (1) the defeatism inherent in slavery itself; (2) their ignorance, ("ignorance is a mist, my brethren, low down into the very dark and almost impenetrable abyss in which our fathers, for many centuries, have plunged"); (3) preachers of religion, (and the spiritual fathers of those white Protestants, the bellwethers of the south today, whose churches provide the meeting places, the pious justifications and the brutish spurs for the worst racial excesses of the White Citizen's Councils); (4) the debilitating gradualism of the Colonizing Movement, which not only proposed to drain off the most talented of their race from the struggle, but gave many white men of good will the delusion that the slavery question could be settled with a panacea.

HE REMINDED THEM that their natural rights as men granted them the power to take part in government; he deplored the fact that in areas in which the Negro outnumbered the whites ten or more to one, they were still controlled, impoverished and enslaved by their apathy. He mentioned one vexing incident in particular, when a coffle of 60 slaves in the deep south managed somehow to surprise their driver, to fell him with a blow and get out of their fetters. In a short spell, however, the driver recovered and went for help and the slaves were recaptured.

"Why didn't the blockheads kill this cutthroat!" he cried. But then he took care their spirits by reminding them that the great warrior nations of Egypt and Carthage were peopled by those of Afric blood like their own, for it must be stated without cavil, that David Walker advocated slave insurrections as soon as the way was clear.

They would be free, he assured them, and those who denied this were no wiser than the antediluvians before the Flood or the Romans doubting the extinction of their grandeur. If not peacefully, then by the crushing arm of power. If treated as men, they would use power as men; if as brutes, their triumph would be as brutish as nightly feared by the slave-holder who had already piled up a debt of irreparable wrongs against them. As long as the Declaration of Independence remained a living creed in this country, Walker said, "my color will root some of them off the face of the earth. They shall have enough of making slaves. This country is more ours than theirs, we have enriched it more with our blood and tears."

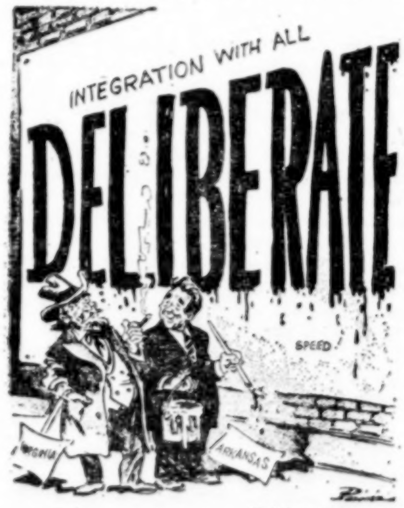
I CAN FEEL HERE, the recoil of those well-meaning sentimentalists of today to whom any expression of hate or violence is a vulgar abomination and who say, if violence by the Negro in the south should ever take place, he would "lose all his friends." This warning did not trouble David Walker. "Some will accuse me of a bad spirit," he said. "I do not care. You should not be astonished that we hate you, for we are men and we cannot help but hate you while you are treating us like dogs."

It is a literary sacrilege to deal with this tract without revealing those treasures which only the fullest of quotation can expose. Yet there is one line there that unmistakably achieves the ultimate in truth and prophesy:

"As a mover of insubordination, I will perhaps be put in prison or to death!"

David Walker wrote this APPEAL in 1829. In 1830, this man of such noble intensity, such fierce pride and cleansing disgust, such powers of eloquence and intellect, was dead.

The tradition was, and is, that some person in the south had offered a three thousand dollar reward to have him killed.




Poinier, Detroit News
**"That's what we're doin', isn't it?"**

## Black soul

by Jean Brierre

*(Fragment of a longer poem, translated from the French by Lillian Lowenfels)*

In Paris
in New York
In Algeria
in Texas
behind the obscene barbed wire of the Mason-Dixon Line and of every country in the world
you have been disarmed everywhere
but how can the heart of a black man be truly disarmed?
Although you took off your army uniform
you kept your many scars
whose closed mouths keep speaking to you in a low voice
and you wait for the next call-up
the inevitable mobilization
because your own war has never known anything but truces
because there is no piece of earth where your blood has not flowed
or any language in which your color has not been reviled.
You smile, black man,
you sing, you dance
you cradle the generations
which keep coming all the time
over the thresholds of work and pain
they will rise up tomorrow
to attack new Bastilles
they will write in every language
on clean white pages under every sky
the declaration of your rights
buried for over five centuries
in Guinea
in Morocco
in the Congo
everywhere that your black hands have left
on the walls of civilization
their imprints of love and grace and light.

*(Jean Brierre is a distinguished Haitian poet. Worldwide protest recently won his freedom from imprisonment by the regime of President Francois Duvalier).*

**THIS IS THE STRUGGLE OF THE NEGRO IN AMERICA TODAY**

# *Not new ground, but rights once dearly won*

**By Louis E. Burnham**

ONE HUNDRED YEARS would seem time enough and more for so rich and strong a nation as ours to redeem the promise of freedom made to an unoffending people it once held as slaves. That the promise was sealed in torrents of blood in the most bitter of wars could not but help, in ordinary circumstances, to guarantee its fulfillment. Yet the Negro today, while not a slave, is far from free, and none dares say how long, O Lord, how long before he shall cross the bar to equal and undifferentiated citizenship.

In Birmingham he may not rest for the night at the Thomas Jefferson Hotel or even the most modest white hostelry. He may view the zoo animals in Memphis on Thursday, but no other day. In one city he may collect white men's garbage but not patrol their streets. In another he may be a policeman (provided he arrests only his "kind") but not a fireman (no matter whose house is burning). In some places he may deliver the mail but not sort it, while in others he may dig and pave the sidewalks but not build a house where a union card is required.

In great areas of the South his vote is restricted or entirely denied. Whenever he leaves one city for another, North or South, he does so with some trepidation, knowing that in some areas he may journey for hundreds of miles without assurance of even the meanest of accommodations and with the practical certainty of insult or assault should he request them.

YET, WHEN in his anguish and his anger he cries out, "Enough!" the rulers of the nation answer: "Time! Give us but more time to right our fathers' wrongs. Do not doubt we have the will; only give us time to find the way." The President speaks, whenever he talks of Negroes at all, of the slow and tedious work to be done in changing men's hearts. Not that he has ever opened his mouth to challenge the racist to take his heel off the Negro's neck. What seems important to him is that we should never forget how difficult it is to persuade white men to accept Negroes as their equals.

A score of Senators echo this contention and assorted social soothsayers justify their complacency by reference to progress already made. Negroes were once 90% illiterate, they point out; now more than 90% of them read and write. Only a generation ago they were bunched on Southern peonage farms in abject poverty and misery; now two-thirds of all Negroes are city dwellers, the majority of their laborers are industrial workers and 1,500,000 of them are in unions.

Some few have become capitalists in insurance, banking, publishing and service industries and the Government is attaching the estate of one of their late cult leaders with a $6,000,000 tax lien. They are developing a consequential middle class; a few of their scholars even teach white youth, and the Negro intellectual today is a far cry from the unsophisticated ex-slaves who thronged the academies and "colleges" during Reconstruction to study "a little Latin and a little less Greek."

**THEY CAN READ NOW—WELL ENOUGH TO SEE "NO HELP NEEDED"**
*Migratory workers on a Florida breadline in January, 1960*

The Worker, New York
**Pursuit of happiness**

PROGRESS, WE ARE cautioned, has been slow but sure and it will surely continue. Patience is needed, not agitation; rather than carping criticism, faith that democracy as it unfolds will spread its largess to the Negro, too.

There is a seeming plausibility in this reasoning and perhaps a majority of Americans accept it as a kind of gospel. Even some Negroes, themselves relatively comfortable, are disinclined to rock the boat or embarrass the nation in the eyes of a watching world.

But the argument is false and its consequences can be calamitous to the cause of Negro freedom. It is false on three counts.

First, much of what Negroes fight for today is not to gain new ground but to restore positions once dearly won and foully taken away. Four Negroes sit in Congress to speak for Northern constituencies, but not one from any of the Southern states which sent 22 Negroes to the House and Senate during Reconstruction and the Populist bid for power. For a brief time in our history more Negroes sat in the South Carolina legislature than now sit in all the legislatures of the 50 states. In 1896 the Negro vote in North Carolina was 120,000; today, though the Negro population of the state has trebled and women have won the franchise, Negro registration there stands at 150,000.

IS THIS PROGRESS? No, it is confirmation of a central lesson of Negro history: that the advance toward equality has not been a straight path, but a dreary zig-zag road; that the nation has undertaken to insure justice to the Negro only in fits and starts, but not with sustained enthusiasm for the project; that it has time and again let the slightest pretext turn it aside from the work at hand.

The lesson is there to learn. Du Bois and Carter G. Woodson, the founder of Negro History Week, made it plain in their writings many years ago. Younger historians—Herbert Aptheker, John Hope Franklin, C. Vann Woodward—have underscored it in more recent works.

Are we, then, in the thick of a second Reconstruction, as Georgia's Sen. Herman Talmadge recently complained in a protest against civil rights laws? Or have the forces of reaction already turned the tide toward restoration of their power to treat the Negro as their will or whim dictates? It may not be possible to tell, but this much is certain: the pace of progress has been slowed; the expectations of easy victory which sanguine men entertained on the heels of the 1954 Supreme Court decision have given way to a more sober estimate of the magnitude of the battle and the strength of the enemy; and Thurgood Marshall's year-end statement that all that remains in the legal fight against segregation is a "mopping up" process and "a little fast play around second base" was even more false than trite.

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, in its annual survey of race relations in the South, came closer to the truth: "Race relations did not change appreciably in 1959. Despite the urgency of America's aspirations to promote peace . . . there was—on balance—little compelling evidence that America itself was able . . . to advance human understanding significantly within its own boundaries."

Nine Negro children entered Little Rock's Central High School in 1957. Today there are only five in former all-white schools. For two thousand others, segregation with all its deprivations is as much a fact of life as if the Supreme Court had never ruled against it. In Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Florida and Texas massive resistance has given way to token integration, a tactic of resistance through "compliance."

Far from having assurance of victory in the fight for Negro rights, on every front the biggest battles lie ahead. But aside from this, the argument of those who would have the Negro "go slow" in light of former progress is false because it sees progress in absolute, but not in relative terms. To be sure, Negroes have moved from Southern farms to Northern cities, but whites have moved to exclusive suburbs in droves, leaving Negroes rotting slums. And a new set of problems—Northern jimcrow, rising crime rates, persistent social disorganization, official neglect and abuse—have risen to take the place of the older, more typically Southern outrages.

THE NEGRO can count his progress only as he closes the gap which separates him from his fellow citizens in opportunity and accomplishment. In good times and bad, unemployment among Negro workers remains twice as high as among whites. A recent government study revealed that of the 32,200,000 poorest family units of the nation, 6,400,000, or one-fifth, were Negro, though Negroes are but one-tenth of the population. And this 6,400,000 families constituted more than a third of all Negro families in the nation.

The complaint is not that the Negro has stood still these past 100 years, but that he has not been able to close the gap. To do this he must move faster than others, not merely apace with them; he must have legal and social protections which others take for granted. This is the essence of the fight for "Negro" or "civil" rights. One way to accomplish this might be for the Government to indemnify its Negro citizens for the two-and-a-half centuries of slave labor exacted from their forebears' sweat and blood. The cost, while considerable, would be less than the price of a modern war and the rewards would be infinitely more worthwhile.

THE THIRD FALLACY rises from a misunderstanding of the nature of the human quest for equality. One man cannot be more or less equal than another. One concession to a righteous demand merely provokes another demand, for the thirst for freedom grows on what it feeds on. The nation's task must be, then, not to discourage the Negro's demand for rights, but to grant them now and fully, even though doing so require that the nation painfully revise its political and social structure. The change can only be for the better.

And the Negro's task must be to demand and fight for his rights no matter what the consequences. This becomes increasingly difficult to do in a prosperous time when the nation is conditioned by social "conflicts" in which nobody gets hurt. Even so staunch a fighter for equality as a veteran NAACP attorney of Atlanta recently told an Emancipation meeting that while Negroes "cannot compromise or retreat from their insistence upon equality under law" they are willing to work with others to determine the best means of equality "without any real detriment to any segment of our citizenry."

THE ATTORNEY MEANS well but is wrong. Negroes must never be content with only such rights as will not inconvenience anybody else. Their freedom is going to hurt somebody; otherwise their continued oppression would be inexplicable. What is encouraging about the prospect is that those who stand to suffer by the Negro's gain, though powerful, are but a numerically miniscule part of the whole American nation.

They take profit from the differential in the Negro's wages— profits measured in billions of dollars. Out of his disfranchisement they enjoy political preferment. On the basis of his social degradation they build a mannered aristocracy, pleasant to themselves but repugnant to the democratic vitality of the nation. They will be hurt by the Negro's forward surge, and the Negro must aim to hurt them. He must say to them, as Sojourner Truth once said, "You have got to give us house room or the roof will tumble in!"

But what of the white worker at the lathe and on the farm, the teacher, the doctor, the housewife; the cook in the restaurant, the seaman, the miner in the

pit—the vast majority of Americans? What have they to lose from the Negro's forward march? Their prejudices? Yes. Their false sense of superiority? Yes. But, oh, how much to gain; nothing less than a new nation to gain.

The Negro must say to them: Come, brothers, let us hold hands and walk together; let us build together, on the foundation of my freedom, a new nation dedicated to the proposition affirmed at Gettysburg and waiting these many years for us to make it real.

That can be the Negro's greatest gift to this great nation.

A VOLUNTEER COMMISSION LISTENS

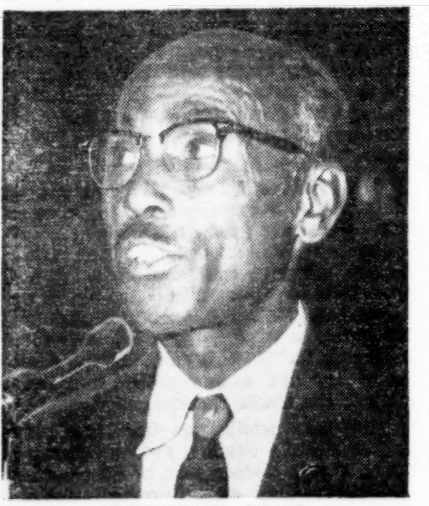
# The voteless ones tell their tale of the South

Special to the Guardian
WASHINGTON

THE FEDERAL Commission on Civil Rights has not taken any testimony on the denial of the vote to Negroes in the South since last July, when a Federal judge enjoined it from holding hearings in northern Louisiana. But last week Congress was presented with first-hand accounts of the Dixie methods—ranging from rigged tests to physical violence—used to keep the Negro voteless.

The personal stories of frustration and fear were told at a hearing in a Washington, D.C., church on Jan. 31 conducted by the Volunteer Civil Rights Commission —"an unofficial body for 'A Free Franchise in the South'." Set up when the Federal commission was barred from holding hearings, the interracial volunteer commission is sponsored by 16 religious, civil rights and Negro organizations in the South and Washington, D.C.

**THE CONSPIRACY:** Ten witnesses from Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee and North Carolina told their personal experiences with "the conspiracy to keep us from voting" before a mixed audience estimated at 1,500. They were questioned by Belford V. Lawson Jr., a Washington lawyer and staff counsel for the volunteer commission. Commission members are the Rt. Rev. George W. Baber, Philadelphia, presiding Bishop of



**CRAFTON R. GRAY**
*Up from Tallahatchie County, Miss.*

the African Methodist Episcopal Church; the Rev. William Holmes Borders, Atlanta, president of the National Fraternal Council of Churches; Philip A. Camponeschi, executive secy. of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission of the City of Baltimore; Dr. Roland P. Mackay, Chicago, former chairman of the Section on Nervous and Mental Diseases of the American Medical Assn. and presently editor of the **Year Book of Neurology**; Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Washington; and the Rt. Rev. C. Ewbank Tucker, Louisville, presiding Bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church.

When all the testimony was in, Bishop Oxnam said: "It is incredible to me that in 1960 men and women must come here in a democracy and ask for the privilege of voting."

**THEY WILL CONTINUE:** A tape recording and a stenographic transcript of the hearing was sent to the Federal Civil Rights Commission and to members of Congress. A unanimous resolution called on Congress to strengthen the Civil Rights Act of 1957 and to enact House Bill 7957 to "enable the Federal government to provide for the registration and voting of eligible citizens in Federal, state and local elections when and where the regular local and state machinery fails to function."

Following the hearing, most of the participating organizations voted to continue to work together for voting rights in the South. A delegation including Aubrey Williams, president of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, one of the participating organizations, had a breakfast meeting with a group of Congressmen in the Congressional Hotel and during the day conferred with a dozen other Congressmen in their offices.

**"THE HOT DOG STAND":** A dramatic moment in the hearing came when John McFerren, a cotton farmer of Fayette County, Tenn., broke down on the witness stand when he told of threats to his life after he and others had organized the Fayette County Civic and Welfare League to fight for the right to vote.

McFerren said that when he and four others were rebuffed by the "registration lady," "I immediately turned and went out and called our legal counsel and our legal counsel advised us later we would bring a Federal suit against the county. During the Federal suit, the FBI came out in the field and investigated me. When they investigated me, he brought back the report and gave the report to the sheriff. That put me on the hot dog stand. Johnson was the FBI man. He gave the report to the sheriff and immediately after then, my life was threatened."

Later, in answer to a question from the floor if it is standard procedure for FBI men to turn over reports to local sheriffs, the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, president of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, replied: "That is common practice."

**LANDLORD WATCHING:** McFerren said that since his encounter with the FBI, he and his family have received repeated threatening phone calls, and continued:

"Now, the teachers in the county are scared to register. They are even scared to talk to me on the street . . . When we go up to register, the landlord would walk walk up and down to see if any of his tenants were in line. When they go to register, the sheriff calls the names and calls the landlord, and the landlord would make him move that night."

**HE TOLD HOW THE FBI PUT HIM ON THE "HOT DOG STAND"**
*John McFerren of Tennessee (l.) talks to Belford W. Lawson Jr.*

Grafton R. Gray, a farmer from Charleston, Miss., said he was turned down three times when he tried to pay his poll tax and register. "I was informed by the deputy sheriff no Negroes could pay poll taxes in Tallahatchie County. Many of us are afraid to register because of fear of loss of job, credit, and violence." He said that not one of the county's 19,000 Negroes is a registered voter. Gray testified that after teaching school for 12 years he was dismissed because of his activity in support of the right of Negroes to vote.

**NOT SINCE RECONSTRUCTION:** Curry P. Boyd, a school teacher from Haywood County, Tenn., and a leader of the Haywood County Civic and Welfare League, testified:

"We have not had a single Negro registered in Haywood County since the Reconstruction Days; when we registered our charter in the courthouse, a white man took his stick and beat one of our members . . . to the extent he had to receive stitches on his face. Other members of our organization were made to move—those who were tenant farmers have been made to move. Others were fired outright. I lost my position as a principal in the elementary school for no reason except this. I have a BS degree from Tennessee State University; a Masters degree from Ohio State University. I have 11 years of teaching experience in high schools, and one year of teaching experience at Ohio State University.

"At every turn, these people have planned to keep us completely away from registration. They have intimidated us from all ends; fined us unnecessarily for minor things . . . We have had all kinds of threats . . . We have been denied loans from banks and most of the business places will not deal with our members any more . . . I prefer the Federal registrars . . . I do not wish to see any local people have the situation because of what they have done in Tennessee so far. They have conspired and helped each other, so to speak, and ended up with the Negroes being left out completely. Yet they never leave us out when it is time to pay taxes."

**26 OUT OF 630:** Prof. J. N. Blankenship of Saline, Louisiana, who retired after teaching for 34 years, said he was one of the 630 Negroes purged from the voting lists in Bienville Parish, leaving only 26 eligible to vote. Asked what would happen if he tried to register again, he said:

"Well, they would just hand me a book and say, 'Read this.' The man would say, 'Let me take this book back. I have not read this myself.' And then he would hand the book back. 'Well, you have not read this to my satisfaction. Go back and study it again'."

Dr. Daniel W. Wynn, professor of philosophy at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, said he was told by the Board of Registrars that he had failed his examination, which consisted of reading aloud one portion of the U.S. Constitution, copying in long-hand another portion, and filling out a four-page questionnaire.

Prof. T. S. Nero of Holly Springs, Miss., a retired teacher, described a similar experience when he tried to register.

**THEY CANNOT PASS:** Mrs. Louise Lassiter of Seaboard, N.C., described the registration process in her town: "We are given an educational test which is . . . really not a test but it is more of a trial . . . The first step in this trial, she gives you a copy of the Constitution to read from and you begin reading until she says stop, and you ask her, did you pass; and she says no. You mispronounced a word . . . [A second] test is taking dictation from the registrar as she reads the Constitution. In this test, you fail if you do not dot an 'I' or cross a 'T'. . . The whole matter is up to the feeling of the registrar. There is nothing Negroes can do to pass when the trial is over."

Recordings of the hearing are available from the Southern Conference Educational Fund, 822 Perdido St., New Orleans, La.

# W.E.B. Du Bois writes

*(Continued from Page 5)*

ther Abraham, unlimber those great limbs; let the bronze blaze with blood and the eyes of sorrow again see. Stand and summon out of the past the woman whose eyes saw "the glory of the coming of the Lord"; the Seer who said: "For what avail the plough or sail or land or life if freedom fail?" The abolitionist who cried: "I will not retreat a single inch and I will be heard!" Arouse Phillips and Sumner, Stevens and Birney and the whole legion who hated slavery and let them march to Capitol Hill. Warn them again, that this nation must have a "new birth of freedom" even if "all the wealth piled up by the bondsmen's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk" and if "every drop of blood drawn by the lash, be paid by another drawn by the sword." As was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said that "the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

This is but the raving of an old man who has long dreamed that American Negroes could be men and look white America in the face without blinking. Not only dreamed but saw in 1913 the Negroes of six states celebrate the Jubilee of Emancipation without apology. Here in New York we inaugurated an abolition celebration securing a state appropriation of $10,000 and a Negro Board of Control. We spent the money honestly and effectively and centered it on recalling the part which Negroes played in the war. We pictured the progress of American Negroes and the forgotten history of their motherland, Africa. For a week beginning October 21, 1913, in the 11th Regiment Armory, Ninth Avenue and 62nd Street, 30,000 persons attended the celebration and 350 actors took part. Few who saw ever forgot the Egyptian Temple, the Migration of the Bantu and the March of the Black Soldiers. Three times later in Washington, Philadelphia and Los Angeles the pageant was repeated. James Weldon Johnson and I went further and planned for 1918 a Jubilee of the 14th Amendment, but the First World War killed that dream.

TODAY NO NEGRO LEADER who holds a good government appointment, or is favored of the great benevolent foundations or has a job in Big Business, or is financed by the State Department to travel abroad, will dare dream of celebrating in any way the role which Negroes played in the Civil War. It would be 'racist' for an "integrated" Negro American to recall the Emancipation of black slaves in the United States. And any Negro school or college would risk its income if it staged a celebration.

Possibly the main moral of all this is the failure of history as it is taught today even to attempt to tell the exact truth or learn it. Rather, so many historians conceive it their duty to teach as truth what they or those who pay their salaries believe ought to have been true. Thus we train generations of men who do not know the past, or believe a false picture of the past, to have no trustworthy guide for living and to stumble doggedly on, through mistake after mistake, to fatal ends. Our history becomes "lies agreed upon" and stark ignorance guides our future.

BOOKS

# Elijah Lovejoy's ordeal

LOOKING BACK over the Abolition years preceding the Civil War, Wendell Phillips in 1867 wrote:

"What world-wide benefactors these imprudent men are—the Lovejoys, the Browns, the Garrisons, the saints and martyrs! How prudently most men creep into nameless graves while now and then one or two forget themselves into immortality."

The Lovejoy among Phillips' "imprudent men" was Elijah P. Lovejoy, shot and killed on Nov. 7, 1837, in the doorway of a warehouse in Alton, Ill., as he and a group of friends tried to prevent a pro-slavery mob from destroying the fourth in a series of newspaper presses on which Lovejoy had undertaken to publish his anti-slavery weekly, the **Observer**, first in St. Louis, then in Alton.

A Maine-born teacher who had journeyed to the "Wild West" of St. Louis in 1827 at age 25, Lovejoy rose from part-time reporter to editor and publisher of the St. Louis **Times** in five years, then quit to study for the Presbyterian ministry at Princeton Theological Seminary. He completed his studies rapidly and was ordained and preaching in New York when he was summoned back to St. Louis in 1833 to edit the **Observer**, a religious weekly.

Then 31, he was anti-slavery, but no Abolitionist. He wrote his mother in 1834 taking her to task for being influenced by the "incendiary fanatic" William Lloyd Garrison. His **Observer** held to the view that immediate abolition would do "untold damage" to slave and master alike.

IN OCTOBER, 1835, a rival newspaper printed a story that Lovejoy, as secretary of the Bible Society, had sent to a Jefferson City group a box of Bibles which included copies of Abolitionist publications "of a most inflammatory character — **Human Rights** etc." The Jefferson City story, along with Lovejoy's anti-slavery resolutions for the presbytery, brought the threat of mob action against the **Observer**.

Lovejoy resigned as editor, and published a final statement to his readers on Nov. 5, 1835, explaining the offending papers among the Bibles as packing collected from two newspaper offices. But he went on to say that "truth and candor require me to add that had I desired to send a copy of the **Emancipator** or any other newspaper to Jefferson City, I should not have

taken the pains to box it up."

"I am not aware that any law of my country forbids my sending what document I please to a friend or citizen. I know, indeed, that **mob law** has decided otherwise . . .

"The truth is, my fellow citizens, if you give ground, a single inch, there is no stopping place.

"I deem it, therefore, my duty to take my stand upon the Constitution. Here is firm ground—I feel it to be such."

Then, handing the office and its contents over to its proprietors (who, not being writers or editors, could not continue the paper) he set out to find a new location where such a paper might be published.

AMONG THE TOWNS he prospected was Alton, but meanwhile the furore in St. Louis had died down and the proprietors prevailed upon him

WENDELL PHILLIPS
*An "imprudent man" too*

to return and resume the editorship.

In April, 1836, a St. Louis mob lynched a Negro deckhand named McIntosh for stabbing to death a police officer who threatened him with life imprisonment for failing to halt a white fugitive the policeman and others were pursuing. The **Observer's** attack on mob action, and its alleged Abolitionist policy, were ultimately presented to the Grand Jury by an aptly-named Judge Lawless as "calculated to fanaticize the Negro." Lawless declared the mob action against McIntosh "beyond the reach of human law."

Lovejoy identified Lawless' tactic of falsely charging the **Observer** with Abolitionism, then to "charge upon that the McIntosh tragedy," with the fact that Lawless was a "Papist." The editor saw "the cloven foot of Jesuitism peeping out from under the veil of almost every paragraph in the charge."

He wrote further that "the doctrines promulgated by Judge Lawless from the bench . . . are subversive of all law and at once open the door for the perpetration by a congregated mob calling themselves the people of every species of violence and that too with perfect immunity."

DURING THAT summer the **Observer** office was frequently invaded by night, the type scattered and the press damaged. Lovejoy slept with a loaded musket at his head. As mob action became uglier, he announced his intention of moving the paper to Alton.

The night after he left for Alton, his office and home were invaded, furniture smashed, crates broken open and contents strewn around. Crates on the wharf were also broken open, but the press had already gone aboard a Missouri River steamer.

Against Lovejoy's wishes because of Sabbath observance, the press was deposited on the wharf at Alton on a Sunday, early in July, 1836. It stood there all day. At three o'clock Monday morning a mob gathered from the Alton saloons smashed the press and threw it in the river.

Alton citizens immediately pledged the money for a new press and, by September, the new Alton **Observer** was publishing.

In January and February, 1837, a Young Men's Lyceum which Lovejoy helped organize ran a series of discussions on the question of immediate emancipation. Lovejoy missed several of the meetings, but at one in February he found no one ready to oppose a young lawyer who had argued against the Abolition position. Lovejoy undertook to answer some of the lawyer's arguments, and found himself making a full Abolitionist speech, his first.

It was not long before the **Observer**, too, turned frankly Abolitionist. The new militant policy of the **Observer** brought fresh attacks, and fostered misgivings even among its supporters.

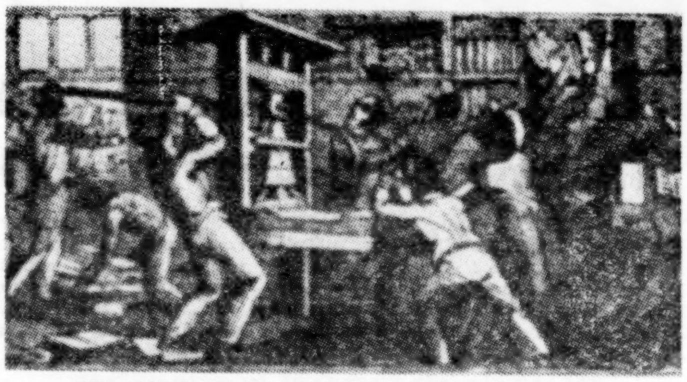
A MEETING of "Friends of the **Observer** dissatisfied with its course" requested by mail "a discontinuance of the publication of his incendiary doctrines."

Lovejoy published the letter and the full minutes of the meeting, and sent a letter of his own which said that he could not recognize the meeting as authorized to discuss what should or should not apear in the **Observer**.

Following this four Alton doctors, three of them hot-blooded young Southerners, organized a mob in August, 1837, to tar and feather Lovejoy, but his courage when set upon was such that the leaders let him go. Instead, they went to the **Observer** office and destroyed the second press.

A third press arrived in September and was stored in a warehouse. When the constable set to guard it eventually went home, a dozen men with handkerchiefs over their faces rolled the press to the wharf, broke it up and again threw it in the river.

An autumn of mob opposition and defections of friends brought Lovejoy to the point of writing a letter of resignation. But before it could be published word came that the **Observer's** fourth press would arrive in Alton early on the morning of Tuesday, Nov. 7. Lovejoy was persuaded to retract his resignation and plans were laid to guard the new press with a citizens' militia under the mayor, who witnessed the arrival of the press and saw it



THE SACKING OF LOVEJOY'S PRINTING PLANT
*A smashed press lay on the bottom of the river*

rolled into a stone warehouse. The militia took up the guard.

THE FOUR DOCTORS involved in the first mob assault on Lovejoy, along with others determined that Alton should not be a base for Abolition, gathered a mob which surrounded the warehouse. Both defenders and attackers were armed. The warehouse was stoned. Stones and other missiles were returned from within. When the mob seemed about to break down the doors, a shot was ordered fired from within. One of the mob was killed. A boy was sent up a ladder with a pail of burning pitch to set the roof afire, but defenders toppled the ladder. The ladder was mounted in another place, and a second arsonist started up. A figure inside the warehouse appeared in an open door. A shot rang out from the levee and the figure fell. It was Lovejoy. He was buried on his 35th birthday.

The story sketched here is graphically told, with absorbing documentation and in intricate detail, by the Rev. Dr. John Gill, a Unitarian minister who served in Alton in recent years and made the Lovejoy story the subject of a doctoral thesis and an excellently written book, **Tide Without Turning.*** The story of Lovejoy's character development in battle for a free press is exciting for all ages of readers; and the wealth of reference should make the book a scholar's and historian's delight.

Incidentally, the book reminds us that it was the coming of the news of Lovejoy's death to Boston which first brought the young Wendell Phillips to his feet in the excitement of a Faneuil Hall meeting.

"What are you going to do, Wendell?" his young wife Ann asked of the newly-graduated Harvard law student.

"I'm going to speak," he replied, "if I can make myself heard!"

Phillips did speak, challenging the Massachusetts Attorney General who had risen at the meeting to say that "Lovejoy died as the fool dieth!"

Phillips fought to the finish of the Abolition fight and, like Lovejoy, lives today as another of those imprudent men who "forget themselves into immortality."

—**John T. McManus**

**TIDE WITHOUT TURNING, Elijah P. Lovejoy and Freedom of the Press. By John Gill. A Starr-King Book distributed by Beacon Press, Boston. 256 pp. $4.50.*

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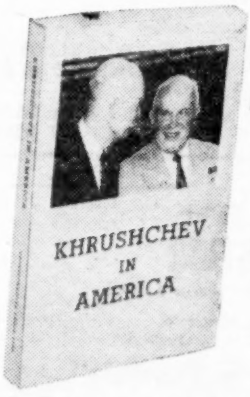


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LOSE SEATS IN LEGISLATURE BUT . . .

# Communists in Kerala gain votes in spite of gang-up by opposition

IN THE LITTLE State of Kerala in southern India, Premier Nehru's Congress Party on Feb. 1 defeated the Communist Party in the elections for the Legislative Assembly. It did so by using its emergency powers within the state; by marshaling the gigantic machinery of the Central government in which it is the ruling party; and by making common cause with two other parties and with the most reactionary elements in the state.

The CP had won 60 of the 126 seats in the state assembly in the 1957 elections in which the voters of the state's 13,500,000 population repudiated the corrupt and inefficient Congress administration. With the support of five independents, the CP had formed a majority and headed the administration for 28 months. During its tenure it brought order out of chaos, earned a reputation for honesty and initiated many reforms within the state—often despite opposition from the Center.

**WHAT IT PROVED:** During this period, the CP administration began a planned economic development; raised the salaries of low-paid government workers, school teachers and plantation hands; fostered trade unions and encouraged cooperatives. It not only proved that it could win in an honest secret ballot but also that it could put into effect reforms which the Congress party had advocated but had failed to implement. This inevitably increased the CP's prestige and popularity in other Indian states.

It was a foregone conclusion that the Kerala administration would clash with the big landowners, the Catholic church (the majority of the people are Catholics) and the orthodox Hindu leaders. The showdown came when the administration promoted bills to reform the land tenure system and the educational institutions dominated largely by the religious organizations. Both bills required Central government approval.

**AN ILLEGAL ACT:** Vested interests began to provoke disorder in the state and asked intervention by the Central government which is empowered by the Indian Constitution — in the event of a breakdown in local rule—to dismiss a state administration and impose emergency rule. By mid-1959 the CP administration had brought the situation fairly well under control. Panicky Congress Party leaders then persuaded the Nehru government to take over power in Kerala—in violation of the Constitution. The CP regime's term normally would not have expired until 1962.

The CP took the turn in stride and agreed to a new election Feb. 1. The local Congress Party formed an alliance with the Praja (People's) Socialist party and the Moslem League. Figuring that the India-China border dispute would surely discredit the Indian CP, the alliance jubilantly predicted a crushing defeat for the Kerala CP.

**THE VOTE IS UP:** The results, however, were far from what they seemed to be on the surface. The three-party alliance won 94 of the 126 seats, the CP 27, CP-supported independents two, and others three. But of the estimated 6,837,000 votes cast (a million more than in 1957) the 28 CP-independent candidates had polled 2,890,000, an increase of more than 700,000. The decline in the CP seat total was brought about by the gang-up tactics of the alliance—the kind of tactics that eventually defeated the late Rep. Vito Marcantonio.

That the CP was able to increase its vote both absolutely and percentagewise (43% this year against 35% in 1957) in the face of the Congress Party's might and alliance—as well as active intervention by Catholic and orthodox Hindu religious leaders—was evidence of its secure base among the people. These people will once again look to the CP when the uneasy alliance of these disparate parties begins to disintegrate in the struggle for the spoils.

## McWilliams, Magdoff speak at MR N.Y. meeting Feb. 29

"U.S.—1960: What is happening? What will happen?" These questions will be discussed at the second meeting of Monthly Review Associates Monday, Feb. 29. Carey McWilliams, author of **Factories in the Field** and currently editor of the **Nation**, will speak on "The Political Scene"; Harry Magdoff, author, business analyst, and former Special Assistant to the Secretary of Commerce, will deal with "The Economic Scene."

The meeting will be held at the Newspaper Guild, 133 W. 44th St., New York City, at 8:30 p.m.

Tickets are $1 in advance, $1.50 at the door. They may be purchased from Monthly Review Associates, 333 Sixth Ave., New York City, CH 2-8403.

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## Refregier talk Feb. 12: Art in socialist lands

ANTON REFREGIER, well-known American artist, will lecture on "Art & Artists in Socialist Countries" Friday, Feb. 12, at 8:30 p.m. at the Art Students League, 215 W. 57th St., New York.

# CALENDAR

## CHICAGO

**SIBERIA — DECISIVE FRONTIER OF THE 20th CENTURY.** LeRoy Wolins presents, by popular demand repeat performance. More color slides! More tape recordings! Fri., Feb. 26, 8 p.m. 32 W. Randolph, 9th floor. $1.

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**GEORGE G. KIRSTEIN,**
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**THURS., MARCH 10, 8 P.M.**
**Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein** speaks at the Andrews Hotel, 4th & Hennepin, Room M-3. Joint Sponsors: National Guardian & Twin City Labor Forum.

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Mon., Feb. 29, 8:30 p.m. Newspaper Guild, 133 W. 44 St. $1 in advance; $1.50 at door. Send for tickets to Monthly Review Associates, 333 6th Av., N.Y. 14—CH 2-8403.

Thurs., Feb. 18, at 8:30 p.m.
Fifth in Winter Term Series on
**"The World Today"**
**MURRAY YOUNG**
Managing Editor, "New World Review"
will speak on
"US-USSR: Cultural Exchange"

Thurs., Feb. 25, at 8:30 p.m.
Sixth in Winter Term Series on
**"The World Today"**
**PAUL NOVICK,**
Editor, "Morning Freiheit"
will speak on
"Anti-Semitism: Its Meaning Today"

Fri., Feb. 26, at 7 p.m.*
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**Negro History Week Celebration**
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**PREMIERE OF JEWISH CHORAL BALLET, HUNTER COLLEGE ASSEMBLY HALL,** March 5. The Jewish Music Alliance celebrates its 35th Anniversary, Sat. evening, March 5, with a premiere presentation of a commissioned Jewish Choral Ballet. **The Bobe's Cholem"** (Grandmother's Dream), based on popular folk songs by Mark Warshafski, with choreography by Lillian Shapiro, music arranged by Maurice Rauch; narration by I. Goldberg; performed by the United Jewish Philharmonic Chorus under direction of Mr. Rauch. Guest artists Joseph Sopher, tenor; Rita Wynn, soprano; Manaz Oppenheim, narrator.
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**"EMERGING AFRICA & NEGRO PEOPLE'S FREEDOM MOVEMENTS"**
Featured speaker, **LOUIS E. BURNHAM,** of NATIONAL GUARDIAN, Fri., Feb. 12, 8:30 p.m. Celebrate Negro History Week with the N.Y. Intercultural Society, 111 W. 48 St. Discussion, refreshments, social dancing. Contribution $1.

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# THE GALLERY

**NEGROES ARE NOT** being admitted to the Brown movie theater in Louisville, Ky., during the eight-week showing of "Porgy and Bess," which has an all-Negro cast. . . . Reinhard Strecker, a West Berlin student, filed a charge of homicide against 43 judges and lawyers who, he says, held office in Nazi courts and are now serving the Federal Republic. Strecker is a leader of the Socialist German Student Union, closely associated with, but to the left of, the Social Democratic party. . . . British documentary film producer Paul Rotha is going to West Germany to make a film on the life of Hitler. . . . Civil Defense officials in New Rochelle, N.Y., ruled that since school buildings provide poor protection against radioactive fallout, in the event of attack, school children will be delivered to their homes. "Any child living in an apartment house whose parent is not at home," a manual declares, "will be left in the care of the apartment superintendent." . . . From the New York **Times**: "W. Averell Harriman suggested today that if the Republicans adopted a 'peace and prosperity' slogan in this year's Presidential campaign, they would be following the Khrushchev line."

**A UCLA PROFESSOR** was invited recently by the Los Angeles Board of Education to lecture in an education institute program, for which he would receive $35. When the professor learned that he would be required to sign a loyalty oath, he wrote to the board declaring that, on principle, he would not sign an oath, although he had signed one in the past. In a reply the board noted that the invitation to lecture still held, but advised the professor he would not be paid. . . . An informed friend sends us this glossary for men's hair pieces: A piece to cover a bald crown is a "doily"; and a piece for the whole head is a "wall-to-wall job." . . . When strip teaser Jeanette Day was arrested in Coventry, England, for doing her act at a stag party, she complained to the magistrate that she had given the same performance recently for a party of 50 policemen without being arrested. "If my act is good enough for the constables," she asked, "why isn't it good enough for the working lads?" . . . Miss Day's colleague Agnes Agun also had her troubles in Linkoping, Sweden. "I was dancing the seven veils," she said, "and had dropped all but the very last one when this man jumped up and tore it off. All I could do was scream."

Drawing by Fred Wright
**"Here's a bed without legs made especially for people who are afraid of reds under beds."**

**THE AFL-CIO** political education committee notes that a press release issued by Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) **in advance** of a speech he made said that he had "departed from his prepared text to drive home his point." In debate on Federal aid to education, Goldwater said in the Senate recently: "The big damage is that a child grows up thinking that the only source of freedom, or anything, is the Federal government . . . Yes, I fear Washington more than I do Moscow." . . . Michigan sociologist Harold L. Wilensky told a Milwaukee conference on family life: "We have been seized by the idea that the public services are somehow inferior to the private—that the eye-level electronic oven is more impressive than the well-staffed mental hospital, that it is sensible to be in favor of a split-level home at the cost of a split-shift school."

—Robert E. Light

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# the SPECTATOR

## *Robeson and Menuhin*

*Two great artists, Yehudi Menuhin and Paul Robeson, in a TV discussion recently produced by Associated Television in London, probed the appeal, range and depth of Jewish and African folk music of which Robeson remains the unchallenged interpreter today.*

*Robeson told Menuhin that his abiding interest in folk music is not confined only to Negro tunes and that he is also deeply interested in Russian folk tunes, in Yiddish musical lore and in the musical traditions of many other nations. He always tries, he said, to sing in its original language any chant or melody he tackles. At this point the conversation turned to Yiddish and Chassidic melodies.*

MENUHIN: It's quite extraordinary the way you have learned so many languages, African languages, I believe, too.

ROBESON: I find aptitude to read them and get along well with them, because I find, Yehudi, that in languages their music is in essence the songs I sing, and the folk songs. Especially the songs of chant are in one sense an extension of poetic speech. They are like the Negro preacher or my own father. Perhaps most of our spirituals could be traced to a sermon. We say:

> *". . . you may bury me in the East, you may bury me in the West, but I'll hear the trumpet sound in that morning. . . . My lord how I long to go for to hear the trumpet sound in that morning."*

And to hear the trumpet sound to us meant, I'm sure, the trumpet of freedom somewhere, not only religion. . . . Of course, you know that before the Emancipation, the Bible was the one book that my ancestors were allowed to read? In a sense they became literate on the Bible. So today you can go in our churches at home and hear the preachers' just most beautiful uses of this imagery.

MENUHIN: Your singing reminds me so much of my father. In the early days my most vivid memories of him are of him singing his Chassidic songs of which I believe you know quite a few.

ROBESON: To me it's one of the great traditions of any music, so I almost never do a program without them, sometimes in Yiddish, mostly in English:

> *"A good day today to thee Lord God Almighty. . . I, Isaak son of Sara from Berdychev, here am I before thee. . . What hast thou done to this thy people? God on High! On this earth are many nations. The Romans, the Persians, the Babylonians, the Germans of those days. . . ."*

One of the great Chassidic songs.

MENUHIN: Yes, well, he would sing them and also many of a much lighter vein, because they were rather a gay clan. They again believed in music and the dance as expressions of religion.

ROBESON: That's true.

MENUHIN: In great reaction against the more determined and talmudic and academic line. . . .

ROBESON: In fact I have a volume with all of them. They almost say syllables.

MENUHIN: Exactly.

ROBESON: They're just dance tunes. I've got a great number of the **niguns. . .** I found a great likeness in this heritage and I remember now going back to my father again. . . .

MENUHIN: He taught you Hebrew, didn't he?

ROBESON: Yes, he knew Hebrew and Greek, and I remember one day he said: "Now these are the first words of the Bible, of Moses himself, in his language. 'And in the beginning God created the Heavens and the Earth—**Bereishit bara Elohim et hashamyim ve et ha'aratz. . . .'** And since then I've learned to read at least in the language. So this is the tradition which again stretched down into Africa to be a part of the whole tradition of many people. We come back again to that point. I remember when you were saying that this music is like a stream into which one river runs, and another river, of the different nations of the world.

MENUHIN: Yes, I felt that in India. It was like a vast ocean from which so many streams run off, overflowing, so to speak, because one finds everything there.

ROBESON: I can certainly see again that you've been interested in the music of many peoples and in the unity of what we call Eastern music, Western music, all kinds of music.

MENUHIN: But there never was a curtain between East and West until Christendom—and even after that there were the caravans, and the ideas during the Crusades which were continually exchanged. Now again there is a broadening of the horizon, a very great broadening, and the inclusion of so many other elements. When I think of the many subjects that are open to study, I would love my children to go into anthropology or geology or any of those fantastic fields which are as yet only barely scratched.

ROBESON: Well, I want to say I'm sure you must know how all of us feel about the contribution that you have made in this sort of community of peoples and exchange of culture, and this whole feeling of all people being one. I really want to tell you that it is a wonderful contribution not only as a musician but as a human being.

*(From World Jewry, London, December, 1959)*